

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L USNATO 1978

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, PARM, NATO, BE, GW, UN
SUBJECT: UN SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT: BELGIAN AND FRG
VIEWS

1. AT THE APRIL 5 POLADS, THE BELGIAN AND FRG REPS CIRCULATED PAPERS OUTLINING THEIR PROPOSED RESPONSE TO THE UN SYG'S QUESTIONNAIRE ON SSOD. WE ARE AIRGRAMMING FULL TEXTS TO THE DEPARTMENT, USUN, AND USMISSION GENEVA.

2. THE SUBSTANCE OF THE BELGIAN PAPER IS AS FOLLOWS:

A. SSOD. THE FIRST TASK OF THE SSOD SHOULD BE THE PREPARATION OF A BALANCE SHEET OF EFFORTS AND RESULTS TO DATE TO ACHIEVE DISARMAMENT AND CONTROL ARMAMENTS. THE SSOD PARTICIPANTS SHOULD CONCENTRATE ON A REALISTIC APPROACH TO A LIMITED NUMBER OF WELL-DEFINED ISSUES RATHER THAN TAKE A DOCTRINAIRE OR THEORETICAL APPROACH. THE GREAT MILITARY POWERS -- AND PARTICULARLY THE NUCLEAR STATES-- HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO SET THE EXAMPLE. STATES PARTY
CONFIDENTIAL

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TO THE NPT SHOULD TAKE THE LEAD IN NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT; STRIVE TO ELIMINATE ANY DISCRIMINATORY EFFECTS STEMMING FROM CERTAIN NPT PROVISIONS REGARDING CONTROL OF NON-MILITARY ACTIVITIES OR CIVILIAN ACCESS TO NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY; AND SHOW FLEXIBILITY REGARDING THE INSTITUTIONAL SETTING FOR DISARMAMENT. THE SSOD CAN ONLY BE SUCCESSFUL IF ALL NUCLEAR POWERS TAKE AN ACTIVE PART.

B. CCD. THE CCD SHOULD BE MAINTAINED SINCE IT HAS PROVED A WORTHWHILE MECHANISM FOR NEGOTIATIONS, BUT

ITS STRUCTURE IS OUT OF DATE. THE SYSTEM OF CO-PRESIDENCY SHOULD BE MODIFIED AND THE SYSTEM TO INSURE PARITY OF REPRESENTATION AMONG THE ALLIES OF CO-PRESIDENTS IS INAPPROPRIATE FOR AN ORGAN THAT MUST FUNCTION ON THE BASIS OF CONSENSUS. EVERY EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE TO BRING THE PRC AND FRANCE INTO THE CCD.

C. DECLARATION. THE SSOD COULD DRAW UP A DECLARATION OF A GENERAL CHARACTER AS WELL AS A SHORT AND LONG-TERM PROGRAM FOR DISARMAMENT. ANY RESULTING DOCUMENTS MUST BE ACCEPTABLE TO A MAJORITY OF THE PARTICIPANTS AND THE PRINCIPAL NUCLEAR STATES. BOTH THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE AND THE SSOD ITSELF SHOULD PROCEED ON THE BASIS OF CONSENSUS.

D. THEMES FOR DISCUSSION. A BAN ON WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION AND THE CONTROL OF CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS ARE OF EQUAL IMPORTANCE. AN ACTIVE FOLLOW-UP TO SALT IS THE BEST WAY TO ACHIEVE REDUCTIONS IN ARMAMENTS AND ENGAGE THE NUCLEAR STATES. NEW EFFORTS TOWARD NON-PROLIFERATION ARE DESIRABLE PROVIDING THE NPT REMAINS THE BASIS FOR PROGRESS AND THE FREEDOM OF STATES TO PURSUE THE PEACEFUL UTILIZATION OF NUCLEAR ENERGY FOR COMMERCIAL PURPOSES IS PRESERVED. A TOTAL BAN ON NUCLEAR TESTS IS DESIRABLE, AS IS A WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE, PROVIDED THE MAJOR MILITARY POWERS, AND PARTICULARLY THE NUCLEAR STATES, AGREE TO CONFIDENTIAL

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PARTICIPATE (THOUGHT IT IS PREMATURE TO SAY THAT THE SSOD SHOULD ESTABLISH A WDC). THE SSOD SHOULD ALSO DISCUSS MEASURES TO CONTROL THE INTERNATIONAL TRANSFER OF ARMS WHICH, TO BE SUCCESSFUL, MUST HAVE THE SUPPORT OF BOTH EXPORTING AND IMPORTING STATES. THE UN SHOULD UNDERTAKE TO STUDY THE POSSIBILITIES FOR REGIONAL NEGOTIATIONS AIMED AT ARMS CONTROL--PARTICULARLY CONVENTIONAL. THE UN'S ROLE IN DISARMAMENT MATTERS SHOULD BE REINFORCED, PROVIDED THAT ANY MEASURES TAKEN TOWARD THAT GOAL REMAIN WITHIN THE COMPETENCE OF THE UN AS DEFINED IN THE CHARTER AND DO NOT CONFER UPON THE UN, DURING NEGOTIATIONS, ANY POWERS THAT EXCEED WHAT THE NEGOTIATING STATES WANT OR ASK.

3. THE FRG PAPER INDICATED THE FRG RESPONSE WILL BE STRUCTURED SIMILARLY TO THE BELGIAN, BUT DOES NOT ADDRESS REFORM OF THE CCD. LIKE THE BELGIAN, THE FRG PAPER EMPHASIZES IMPORTANCE OF THE NPT AS THE CENTER OF NON-PROLIFERATION EFFORTS, AND SHOWS INTEREST IN CONTROLLING CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFERS ("ALTHOUGH WE ARE AWARE OF THE DIFFICULTIES"), AS WELL AS THE BELGIAN PROPOSAL FOR STUDIES ON PROBLEMS OF REGIONAL ARMS CONTROL. UNLIKE THE BELGIAN PAPER, THE FRG INDICATES A WILLINGNESS TO PARTICIPATE IN THE SOLUTION OF CW

AND CTB QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTS A DISCUSSION OF REDUCING
MILITARY EXPENDITURES NOT ONLY BY MEMBERS OF THE
SECURITY COUNCIL AND COUNTRIES OF COMPARABLE MILITARY
IMPORTANCE BUT BY ALL OTHER COUNTRIES WHOSE MILITARY
EXPENDITURES EXCEED A PERCENTAGE (TO BE FIXED) OF
THEIR GNP.STRAUSZ-HUPE

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